

Breaking Down Broken Windows: An Analysis of Quality of Life Policing and Equality  
Research Thesis

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by

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### Abstract

In their 1982 article, Wilson and Kelling offer broken windows as a functional theory of social control to prevent serious crime in the United States. They hypothesize that broken windows in theory and action can prevent more serious crimes from occurring if minor offenses are aggressively policed. Since 1982, broken windows has been inspirational to a number of policing styles and programs in the United States and frequently implemented. With broken windows increasing in popularity, discussion regarding its effectiveness and impact has dominated research in the recent years and remained largely misinterpreted and disagreed upon. The goal of this research is to examine what relationship, if any, broken windows policing has on minority and poor communities. The first section of the paper introduces broken windows theory and its presence in the United States criminal justice system. The second section describes the theory as proposed by Wilson and Kelling. The third section on broken windows and inequality assesses the interaction and consequences of broken windows programs in Kansas City, New York, Chicago, and Baltimore. The fourth section traces the historical purpose and enforcement of quality of life policing and connects broken windows tenants to the historical policing of the poor in England. The fifth section is an analysis utilizing the 2006 New York Stop, Question, Frisk study through which I delve into the demographics of the individuals stopped under a popular broken windows program. The findings of this analysis support the claim that broken windows in enforcement and theory results in increased police presence for minority citizens. *Keywords:* broken windows, broken windows policing, quality of life policing, disorder, crime, criminal justice, race, minority, vagrancy laws

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Broken windows is a criminological theory which asserts that visible signs of crime and civil disorder, such as a broken window, snowball into an urban environment that encourages more serious crime. This theory has been controversial because of its potential for abuse by aggressive law enforcement and for promoting wealth and racial disparities in the criminal justice system. Despite the controversy of broken windows theory and related policing strategies, they have been employed by major cities in the United States such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2005). No empirical databases exists to identify policing departments that focus on quality of life offenses, although the strategy has almost certainly been implemented much more widely. This paper seeks to understand the consequences of aggressive law enforcement predicated on cracking down on quality of life offenses and initiating frequent contact with citizens based on suspicion (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Specifically, what relationship, if any, does broken windows have with racial and economic disparities in the criminal justice system?

### **Broken Windows Theory**

In a widely read article in *The Atlantic* in 1982 titled “Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety,” James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling advanced the theory of broken windows and applied it to policing. Broken windows theory asserts that perceived or actual signs of disorder, incivility, and fear inspire an environment of unchecked crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Or, in other words, one broken window will lead to another broken window, and another, until there are a thousand broken windows and more serious crime occurs. A key component to this theory is the idea that unchecked disorder will lead to serious crime. For Wilson and Kelling, this theory called for an “order maintenance” policing in which police aggressively pursue minor infractions and “quality of life offenses” in order to prevent more serious criminal behaviors.

The article left an impression in the field of sociology because it was published during the rise of community policing, and the authors effectively aligned the theory with a workable policing strategy. The history of policing is usually broken down into three eras: the political era (start of policing through the early twentieth century), the reform era (early twentieth century to 1970's), and community policing era (1970's – today) (Gultekin, 2014). During the political era, politicians appointed officials in law enforcement (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This era was characterized by vast corruption amongst police and politicians. During this time, police lacked any centralized training, and in the eyes of many Americans they were seen as amateurs (Kelling & Moore, 1988). In the early twentieth century, the reform era introduced the goals of formalized law enforcement with increased training and a more professional and business-like approach to policing (Kelling & Moore, 1988). In comparison to other eras, the reform era placed a heavy focus on separating politics from policing.

In 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed a commission to study criminal justice and make recommendations to police departments as a nation. The commission identified a critical challenge for officers is the dilemma between effective law enforcement and fairness to individuals (Katzenbach, 1967). The commission urged departments to get officers out of their cars and onto the streets to increase citizen interaction, pushing for more community-oriented policing (Katzenbach, 1967). Community policing and order maintenance policing programs are not mutually exclusive; they can exist at the same time in the same department (Roberts, 1999). However, following the protests of the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's, order maintenance policing became synonymous community relations to social scientists (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). While order maintenance as a means of crime prevention is not inherently problematic, policing strategies that are adopted under broken windows logic have raised questions about the social stratification consequences of the criminal justice system.

Broken windows serves as a reference point for integrating an aggressive order maintenance focus from previous eras into community policing. Unlike other forms of community policing, broken windows makes heavy use of “stop and frisk” or “stop, question, and frisk” (SQF). SQF is a police tactic that was first carried out in San Francisco in 1950 and later in Kansas City, MO (Meares, 2015; Robert, 1999). SQF illustrates the broken windows principle that preemptive policing is the equivalent to crime prevention under the assumption that minor crimes lead to more serious crimes (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). For example, The Kansas City Gun Experiment involved officers going door to door to gain information about guns with hopes to get them off the street (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008). The officers explained that increased police were for the purpose of these efforts and additional officers were assigned to the ‘treatment district’ to gauge the effectiveness of this strategy (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008). The results showed that the treatment district’s gun violence had decreased by 49 percent and there was a 65 percent increase in gun seizures in the experiment (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008). The Kansas City experiment appeared to confirm Wilson and Kelling’s hypotheses that the aggressive enforcement of minor offenses prevents more serious crimes from occurring and the program was transformed and implemented in Chicago and more famously in New York after 1993 (Meares, 2015).

However, SQF is not the only broken windows policing method. Wilson and Kelling offer an extensive list of mannerisms and behaviors to illustrate disorder including panhandling, loitering, groups of teenagers, and public drinking. The theory proposed by Wilson and Kelling suggests that the enforcement of quality of life offenses enables departments to maintain public order. The two social scientists admit that the term disorder itself is “inherently ambiguous,” but state that individuals of “given” communities would recognize order when it is displayed (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The theory, as the name ‘broken windows’ suggests, categorizes physical signs in a community that could signal disorder such as grass length, building dilapidation, litter, weeds, and broken windows

(Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Each of the identified elements of disorder can be metaphorically thought of as broken windows.

### **Broken Windows & Inequality**

Wilson and Kelling state that officers having the legal capability and discretion to deal with instances of vagrancy, public drunkenness, and noticing a suspicious person, empower police with an essential tool of law enforcement to remove undesired people (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Some may hear of this practice, and think, no big deal. In fact, it is the job of police to keep citizens safe. However, broken windows policing makes behaviors of individuals that would be otherwise ignored in private (drinking, hanging out with friends) the target of law enforcers (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004). It is then no small matter how disorder is defined. The consequences of broken windows policing have in one way been evaluated based on its crime control effectiveness. In *Fixing Broken Windows*, Kelling and Coles (1997) profess an empirical relationship between disorder and crime. Their argument is that broken windows policing is the key to crime prevention and departments and communities must be willing to pay the “cost” for public safety (Kelling & Coles, 1996, 71).

However, there are mixed results about whether or not aggressive preemptive policing of disorder causes a decline in serious crimes. Skogan explored the causal link between disorder and crime through a collection of resident surveys, finding that residents with higher perceptions of disorder were more likely to be robbery victims (Skogan, 1990; Collins, 2007). Harcourt (2001) later re-analyzed Skogan’s data, determining that neighborhood disorder and crime were only correlated in the instance of robbery and not in the other four crimes found in the sample including burglary, rape, assault, and purse snatching. Although there appears to be no consensus about the relationship between neighborhood disorder and serious crime, often times broken windows policies are loosely credited for dropping crime rates.

By the late 1990's, broken windows policing strategies had earned the fame for the crime decline, with one major newspaper calling broken windows policing the, "Holy Grail of the '90s (Collins, 2007)." This claim is disputed by Levitt and Dubner in their book *Freakonomics*, in which they find that the most cited explanation for the crime decline of the 1990s and 2000s, according to the results discovered by the what appears in newspapers, were innovative policing strategies, with a particular focus on the largest declines happening in New York (Levitt & Dubner, 2005; Collins, 2007). Yet Levitt and Dubner debunk broken windows policing as the explanation for declining crime rates. Namely, the authors point out that by 1993 crime had already dropped in New York by twenty percent (Levitt and Dubner, 2005). This is important when you take into consideration it was not until 1994 that New York Mayor and broken windows advocate, Rudolph Guiliani was elected and appointed the most popular broken windows police commissioner, William Bratton (Levitt & Dubner, 2005). Moreover, crime rates were falling all over the United States and not only in cities participating in broken windows policing like New York (Levitt & Dubner, 2005). All of these aspects considered, critics of broken windows have been reluctant to attribute the crime drop of the 1990's to the work of broken windows and have also called into question the overall worthiness of a potentially invasive policing program.

A second way to evaluate the impact of broken windows policing, and the one most closely related to my thesis, is the differential enforcement of law on poor and minority individuals and in less wealthy communities. Broken windows policing encourages the enforcement of quality of life citations, which requires officers to make judgements about an individual's propensity to commit crime (Roberts, 1999). During the height of New York's broken window program it was unveiled that the lives of the city's homeless and minority populations were impacted more harshly than that of middle class and white residents (Yang, 2015; Mcardle & Erzen, 2001). Meares challenges the euphemism that the stops, statutes, and



practices under broken windows philosophy are a culmination of individual instances and argues that when police stop certain “sorts” of people, this behavior is representative of a “program.”

This program can be understood by the categories of disorderly and orderly that emerge with broken windows. This practice of categorization based on familiarity and officer discretion impacts not only the way police interact with these communities but the lives of individuals within them. Broken windows policing creates and enforces new laws by imposing norms (Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Collins, 2007). In Baltimore, the adoption of broken windows policing created a new crime that outlawed idle standing and crimes of poverty (Collins, 2007). The enforcement of these laws on one end enable police to use discretion in situations where individuals fail to listen to their requests to move, on the other end these laws, as argued by Collins, further marginalize the city’s most disadvantaged residents by setting a pattern or practice of arrest for the city’s poor and African American population.

Following New York and Chicago’s take on broken windows, the Baltimore City Council implemented its own form of broken windows policing with a focus on loitering (Collins, 2007). Baltimore’s loitering ordinance enforcement is symbolic of broken windows policing, in which the gathering of individuals is punishable by law. Baltimore’s ordinance differs from Chicago’s, which was found to be unconstitutional in regards to the Fourth Amendment by allowing warrantless arrests in the community without the necessity of probable cause (Collin, 2007). Baltimore’s legal loitering ordinances outline specific instances in which gathering or placement can be policed; it includes loitering that prevents the free passage the sidewalk or that occurs in a certified drug-free zone for the purpose of engaging in drug-related activities (Collins, 2007). One of the observed “unintended consequences” of Baltimore’s ordinance enforcement was the “disproportionate arrest of both African Americans and the poor (Collins, 426, 2007).” Fifteen percent of warrantless

searches in Baltimore were declined prosecution in 2000, suggesting that officers were citing individuals for general gathering rather than the specific loitering behaviors announced in the ordinance (Collins, 2007). In 2004, of the 68,495 warrantless arrests that occurred, 30 percent were released without charges and, by 2005, this number had risen to 37 percent (Collins, 2007). Although not charged, detained individuals still face stigma and possible further hindrance from their arrest.

The vague language of broken windows programs and the behaviors they punish governed by suspicion and sometimes fear, is the reason many critics are calling for further review of broken window policing and its application. Fagan and Davies (2000) report that disorder, as it pertains to broken windows, has more to do with policing poor people in poor places than about improving the quality of life of citizens. “Strolling while poor,” is the title of Collin’s essay and the phrase he uses to describe a dilemma in the United States in which poor individuals in cities with philosophies and programs like broken windows in Baltimore, are policed and punished for being in poverty (2007). Poor individuals are not alone in their circumstances influencing the amount of policing they receive. Race-based, pre-textual stops have been upheld by the Supreme Court, effectively giving officers across the country the green light to use an individual’s ethnicity as a calculation of a person’s lawlessness (Roberts, 1999). “Driving While Black” is a more dated phrase derived from the disproportionate stops of African Americans and minorities while driving with their race being a predominant factor for the officer’s suspicion in stopping them (Collins, 2007; Roberts, 1999). Race was particularly controversial with New York’s Stop, question, frisk program.

### **A Precursor to Broken Windows: Vagrancy and Inequality**

History has taught us that loitering laws, and their close cousins, vagrancy laws, are often used to control the poor. In his article titled, “Sociological Analysis of the Law of Vagrancy,” William Chambliss dissects the history of vagrancy statutes in England and the

social settings in which they emerged. He presents the social context and analysis of the modifications and interpretations to the vagrancy statutes that eventually make their way to the United States.

In 1349, the first vagrancy statutes were introduced in England with the initial intent to protect religious houses from the financial obligation of providing meals and lodging to strangers (Chambliss, 2014). Through his scholarship, Chambliss states how the vagrancy statutes were not changed or enforced for the first few years. However, once the changes began they were in the areas of interpretation and punishment. The first version of the statute characterized vagrants as those who refuse labor, “every man and woman... free or bond... (not) having his own whereon to live, nor proper land whereon to occupy himself, not serving any other... (Chambliss, 68).” Disobedience was equated with refusing to work, lacking employment, and lacking property.

Moving to the next major revision in the statute, between 1503 and 1508, the statute describes offenders as “any ruffians... [those whom] wander, loiter (72).” The statute pronounces these offenders as “enemy of the commonwealth (72).” Modifications to the statute did not stop there; Chambliss highlights the criteria provided of vagrants in the 1530 version of the statute denoting “[any person] begging, or be vagrant and can give no reckoning how he lawfully gets his living” and “and other idle persons going about.. (71).” This interpretation extracts a list of defining characteristics of vagrants and demonstrates the legislators shift from laborers to criminal activities (71). The 1571 version of the statute names “rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars,” and a laundry list of other persons who qualify as violators. The change in description and depth of the statute was accompanied by increasingly harsher punishments for the expanding definition of vagrancy.

The punishments were often severe. The 1349 version of vagrancy statute held that any violator, “shall have pain of imprisonment (68).” Soon after in 1351, the statutes demanded 15 days of imprisonment (68). But by the year 1388, the statutes states that the

convicted were to be placed in stock for an indeterminate amount of time or until they have agreed to return to work (70). In 1495, the statute held that vagrants be held in the prison for 3 days and 3 nights with specifically only bread and water to consume. Following the 3 days and nights the offender is to be “commanded to avoid the town (70).” The most severe forms of punishment for the offense emerge during the 1500’s, with offenders “tied to the end of a cart naked, and to be beaten with whips... till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping. (71).” Changes in the statute from 1530-1547 legalize the physical branding of vagrants with hot irons, in attempt to condemn those convicted, as slaves forever (73). The 1571 statute demanded the offender to be burned in the right ear with an iron on the first offense, jailed as a felon for two years on the second offense, and to “judged guilty of a felony without benefit of clergy,” in the third offense (73).

Chambliss’s analysis of England’s vagrancy statutes illustrates the history of using loitering laws and their equivalents to punish the poor. The original statute became more and more specific over the years describing the elements of a perceived offender of the state. Chambliss argues that the shift in meaning and enforcement of the law was heavily reliant upon the social setting in which the changes occurred (2014). Take, for example, the fact that the first revisions of the statute which were placed on the books was to prohibit unpaid laborers from fleeing their captivity to pursue paid labor. In this way the statutes acted not only as a law but as an instructional and expanding guide to the behavior deemed desirable and strict punishments for the undesirable. Vagrancy statutes in England were a way for powerful landowners to control the mobility of the work force, legally ensure higher profits by eliminating labor costs, and publicly set the tone for any undesirable behavior that went against these goals (2014). In mirror of this, broken windows focuses on minor level offenses and enforcing norms that instruct society on the program’s consequences of being undesirable; intense surveillance and arrest if probable (Meares,

2015). In England the results of vagrancy statutes revisions were the shift from people pursuing a freedom in any way possible to the creation of new criminal identities/types.

England's vagrancy laws encouraged a population of subservient, working class people with the creation of statutes that enabled officer discretion to use their perception as a means of identifying disorder. England's history of vagrancy statutes has shown us that focusing on lower level crime enhances inequality. I want to take this a step further by analyzing the relationship that broken windows policing and its assumptive description of disorder has with historically disenfranchised communities and the detection of crime.

### **Data Analysis**

The New York Disparity study analyzes data collected by officers of the New York Police Department engaging in Stop, Question, and Frisk Practices during 2006. During this time period a total of 506,489 stops were recorded by the department. The data from this study was made possible through a contract to the New York City Police Foundation by the Rand Corporation's Center on Quality Policing. The data collected includes information on the officer's reasons for initiating a stop, the suspected criminal behavior, whether the stop concluded in an arrest or summons, and the demographic information of the person stopped (NYPD, 2006).

There are two variables in the New York disparity data that are of particular interest as it pertains to broken windows theory and my thesis. The first variable is identified as ARSTMAD in the codebook, representing whether the stop initiated by the officer resulted in enough evidence to arrest the suspected person. The second variable of focus is RACE of each of the persons stopped. There could be some error in the particular instance of race since it is a categorization based off of the perception of the officer conducting the stop. The two variables of whether an arrest was made, and the race of the individual stopped are both nominal variables. Nominal variables are levels of measurement in which there

are no numerical values or rankings. This essentially means that the differences among the variables are in kind or type rather than in number. Categorical sets of data such as nominal variables can be used to understand relationships that are not obvious on the surface. In an attempt to gauge the relationship between one of the most aggressive forms of broken windows policing I performed a cross tabulation of the race of the individual stopped and whether or not an arrest was made. This statistical tool of cross tabulation will be of specific importance in understanding the relationship between broken windows policing and minority communities. Or in the words of Meares, does there exist a “program” of policing in which minority communities receive more law than other members in society?

[Insert Table 1 and 2]

Table 1 and Table 2 illustrate the breakdown by race of each of the persons stopped during the Stop, Question, and Frisk practice in New York. In Table 1, almost 53% of the stops were Black individuals. If we include Black Hispanics it accounts for over 58% of all stops. This disproportionately represent a population that accounts for 25.5% of New York population in 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010). Table 3 illustrates a cross tab analysis of race and whether or not an arrest was made. The data underlines that 96.0% of Blacks stopped were not arrested. 95.5% of Black Hispanics stopped, were also not arrested. On the flip side, Table 1 demonstrates that only 10.5% of the stops made were White individuals. Even further of the White individuals that were stopped, 95.2% were not arrested and 4.8% were arrested. From this we can state that while Whites are less likely to get stopped for being suspected of committing a crime, they are slightly more likely than Blacks and Black Hispanics to be arrested if stopped.

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of this research was to understand the impact that broken windows policing has had on disenfranchised communities by analyzing the impact of cultural and

economic assumptions of disorder. Particularly, if and how does the understanding of disorder provided by broken windows impact poor and minority members in the United States? The academic community has extensively explored the effectiveness of this theory with regards to crime levels, but little is known about the impact broken windows has with perpetuating inequality.

The results of the current study suggest that broken windows policing further perpetuates racial inequality. Broken windows philosophy encourages racial stereotypes of criminality and their usage as a basis of predicting and punishing potential suspects. To gauge the relationship between broken windows and racial equality, I used data from a 2006 New York Stop, Question, and Frisk Program. The results contend that Blacks were the most frequently stopped racial group totaling about 267,427 of 506,491 stops. Blacks were also the third most likely to be released with a recorded count of 256,729 individuals leaving the stop without being arrested. These findings suggest that broken windows policing results in a disproportionate amount of visually identifiable minorities being stopped by police. Thousands of innocent people in New York's data are assumed to be criminals, stopped, identified, tracked (in some cases), questioned, and arrested by a department that is simply seeking to maintain order and optimize resources. However, the research suggests that those good intentions have removed the presumption of innocence for many, innocent people.

Although New York's SQF program provided the groundwork for predictive policing analytics, it is only one form of a broken windows policing application. Wilson and Kelling's claims and assumptions were presented as facts and applied and remixed in a number of ways, each with their own range of impacts in different cities. These impacts are often difficult to identify and statistically measure. For this reason there are limitations to the data found in this study. The relationship between broken windows and race can be understood through the demographic data provided by foot patrolmen conducting the stops in New York. One aspect that was not measured in this study and remains sociologically underdeveloped is

the economic data of individuals stopped New York's SQF. However, other forms of documentation suggest broken windows policing is more aggressive to poor people, such as the number of citations against large number of homeless individuals in Baltimore. Just as there exists no way to identify broken windows police departments, its impacts on the poor remain largely unresearched outside of arrest and citation records. Part of this complexity stems from the fact the data necessary to measure the financial relationship amongst known broken windows departments remains unavailable or unrecorded. Furthermore, the norms enforced by broken windows policing vary in focus by department and as mentioned, there exists no statistical way to identify those individual departments.

Broken windows programs are often supported or at the least tolerated for its availability in situations in which it could prove effective at preventing serious crime. However, does this unknown level of utility warrant the known impact these policies have on poor and minority communities? The results from New York's study reveal that Blacks receive more law enforcement than Whites. White-Hispanics also received more law enforcement than Whites. As a society we typically accept these implications with the mindset that officer suspicion is right most of the time so sacrificing the individual liberty of a few is worth the protection of us all. Yet this principle is flawed in its understanding of the impact and breadth of this sacrifice. Aside from receiving more aggressive policing, broken windows sets the precedent for criminal detection with a cultural and economic bias. Plainly, broken windows implies stereotypes about the criminality of minority communities, and targets crimes of poverty with a very specific routine. The consequences for members of these groups for their unchosen association is receiving more law and aggressive law. Broken windows and the extent of the assumed suspicion it casts on non-criminally engaging, poor and minority Americans reveals the need for interrogation of the social meaning of disorder and the policies in which it is embedded.



### Implications

The purpose of this research was to understand the implications of using perception as it is offered through broken windows as a guide to detect future criminality. The results suggest that there is a program of policing that results in over policed franchised communities. While understanding the relationship that broken windows has with minority communities was made possible through New York's data, the study raises larger questions about achieving and understanding equality within criminal justice.

Michelle Alexander highlights the flaws of the criminal justice system and its resemblance to slavery in *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. Alexander traces a historical and legal manifestation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, highlighting the mass incarceration of people of color. She finds that the U.S. has 5% of the total population in the world and 25% of the world's prisoners, 60% of them being people of color. Just below the United States, *In Police and Crime Control in Jamaica: Problems of Reforming Ex-Colonial Constabularies*, Anthony Harriot discusses the extent to which broken windows styles of policing have influenced citizen-police relationships and crime in the Caribbean. Alexander and Harriot are scholars that have precluded this work in breaking down broken windows and provide a pillar of understanding the dynamics of history, socioeconomics, and police.

The economics of criminal justice and equality remains underdeveloped. This research is the start of breaking down broken windows and examining its implications on socioeconomic equality. The limited data available underscores the need for more advanced research in this field to understand the impact of aggressive policing on poor communities. Advancement in any branch requires a combination of finding improvements from the past and predicting a better future. A comprehensive breakdown of broken windows and its impact may involve a cross interdisciplinary and cultural approach of economist, linguists,

and historians to find a less invasive way of providing protection to poor, minority, and all communities.

## Tables

**Table 1:** Race of Suspect's stopped in New York's 2006 Stop, Question, Frisk Program

<i>Race of Suspects</i>	<i>Distribution (measured in %)</i>
<i>Asian/Pacific Islander</i>	2.7
<i>Black</i>	52.8
<i>American Indian/Alaskan Native</i>	0.4
<i>Black-Hispanic</i>	5.6
<i>White-Hispanic</i>	23.5
<i>White</i>	10.6
<i>Other</i>	4.4
<b><i>Total Stops</i></b>	<b>506,491</b>

**Table 2:** Decision to Arrest and Suspect's Race

<b>Race of Suspect Stopped</b>	<b>No Arrest Made</b>	<b>Arrest Made</b>
<i>Asian/Pacific Islander</i>	95.60%	4.4%
<i>Black</i>	96.00%	4.0%
<i>American Indian/Alaskan Native</i>	97.00%	3.0%
<i>Black-Hispanic</i>	95.50%	4.5%
<i>White-Hispanic</i>	95.70%	4.3%
<i>White</i>	95.20%	4.8%
<i>Other</i>	97.40%	2.6%

Figure 1: Race of all Suspect's stopped in 2006 New York Stop, Question, Frisk

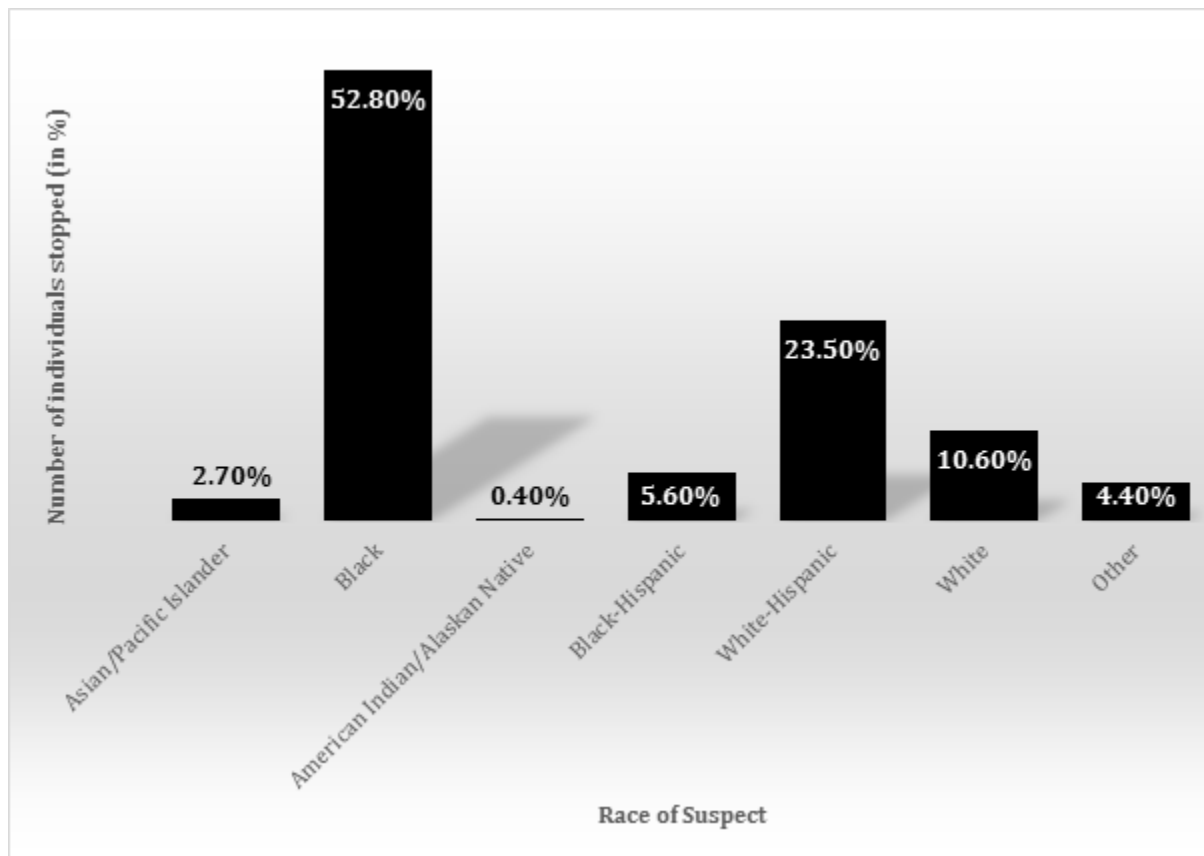
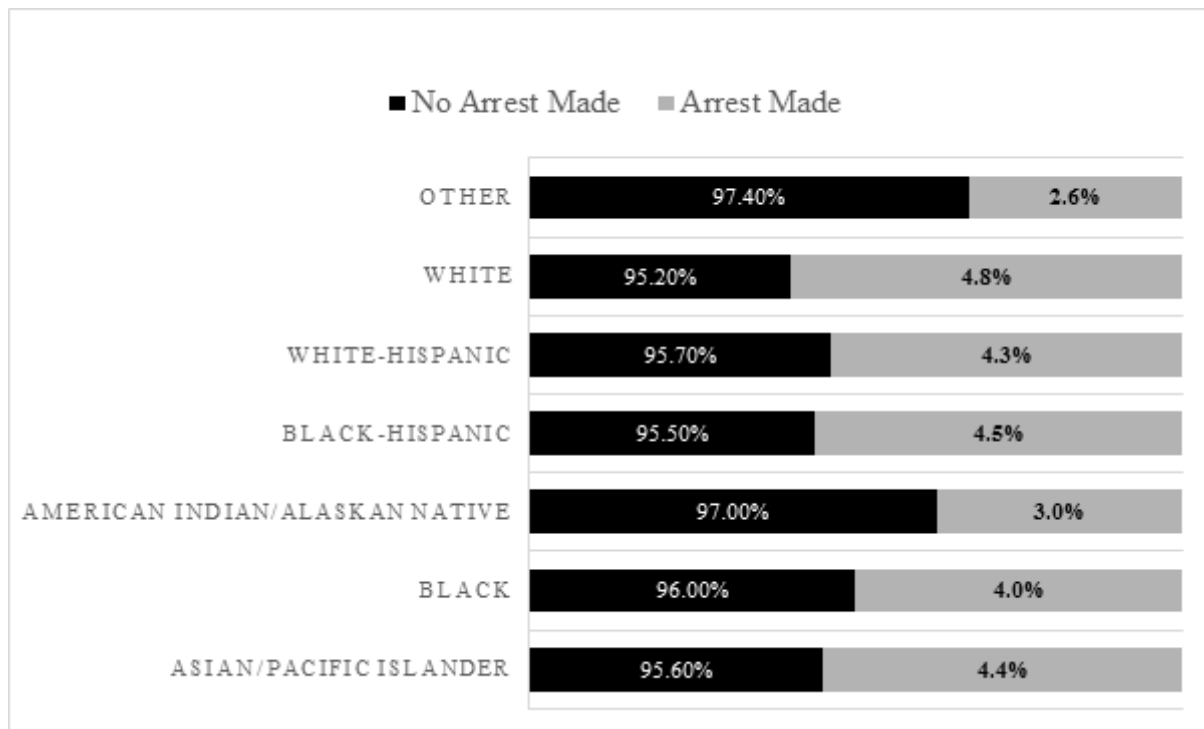


Figure 2: Decision to Arrest and Suspect's Race



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